

Message Text

PAGE 01 PARIS 06020 01 OF 02 101323 Z

53

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 CCO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

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CIEP-02 STR-08 CEA-02 OMB-01 AGR-20 RSR-01 /108 W

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O 101147 Z MAR 73

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8246

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 PARIS 6020

E. O. 11652: N/ A

TAGS: PFOR EFIN FR

SUB: AMBASSADOR IRWIN' S AMERICAN CLUB SPEECH

FOR EUR/ WE

FOLLOWING IS PROPOSED TEXT OF SPEECH TO BE DELIVERED BY
AMBASSADOR IRWIN AT AMERICAN CLUB DINNER IN EARLY APRIL:
IT IS A DISTINCT HONOR TO HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE MY
MAIDEN SPEECH AS AMBASSADOR TO FRANCE BEFORE THIS DISTINGUISHED
GROUP. NO RESPONSIBILITY THAT I WILL HAVE IN MY NEW POST MEANS
MORE TO ME THAN MY RESPONSIBILITY AS THE HEAD OF THE AMERICAN
COMMUNITY, AND NO PLEASURE THAT THIS ASSIGNMENT BRINGS ME
WILL BE AS GREAT AS THE PLEASURE OF THE FRIENDSHIPS WHICH I HOPE
TO MAKE AMONG YOU, MY FELLOW CITIZENS. I KNOW THAT YOU WHO HAVE
CHOSEN TO PURSUE YOUR CAREERS IN THIS MOST BEAUTIFUL OF CITIES
WILL UNDERSTAND THE SATISFACTION THAT I FEEL IN MY NEW ASSIGNMENT.
A NATION WHICH IS OUR OLDEST ALLY, A PEOPLE WHOSE CULTURE AND
WAY OF LIFE HAVE ALWAYS BEEN SYMBOLIC FOR AMERICANS OF THE
CIVILIZED ELEGANCE OF THE OLD WORLD, FRANCE AND THE FRENCH HAVE
BEEN AT THE CENTER OF SOME OF THE MOST IMPORTANT CHAPTERS IN
AMERICAN HISTORY. FOR THIS AND MANY OTHER REASONS, PARIS HAS
ALWAYS BEEN ONE OF THE MOST SOUGHT AFTER POSTS IN THE U. S.
DIPLOMATIC SERVICE. SO I HAVE EVERY REASON TO FEEL GRATEFUL
TO PRESIDENT NIXON FOR HAVING ASKED ME TO REPRESENT HIM HERE.
2. ALTHOUGH I AM NOT A CAREER DIPLOMAT, I HAVE HAD THE GOOD
FORTUNE TO HAVE SPENT TEN OF THE PAST SIXTEEN YEARS IN FOREIGN
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PAGE 02 PARIS 06020 01 OF 02 101323 Z

POLICY ASSIGNMENTS FOR MY GOVERNMENT. CONSEQUENTLY, I THINK
I AM NOT ENTIRELY UNPREPARED FOR THE TASKS WHICH LIE AHEAD.

MY WORK AS DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE, IN PARTICULAR, INVOLVED ME EXTENSIVELY IN FRENCH AND EUROPEAN POLICY AND BROUGHT ME INTO FREQUENT CONTACT WITH SENIOR FRENCH OFFICIALS, BOTH IN WASHINGTON AND IN PARIS.

3. IN ONE RESPECT, I MUST CONFESS, I VIOLATE WHAT ONE OF MY MOST DISTINGUISHED PREDECESSORS AS AMBASSADOR TO FRANCE CONSIDERED A BASIC QUALIFICATION FOR SUCCESSFUL DIPLOMACY -- I AM A LAWYER BY PROFESSION. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, I WAS PAINED TO LEARN, ONCE SAID " PERSONS OF GOOD SENSE.... SELDOM FALL INTO DISPUTATION, EXCEPT LAWYERS, UNIVERSITY MEN, AND MEN OF ALL SORT THAT HAVE BEEN BRED AT EDINBURG." NOW I DO NOT CONSIDER DISPUTATIOUSNESS A DESIRABLE QUALITY IN A DIPLOMAT, AND I HOPE THAT I SHALL BE ABLE TO PROVE THAT FRANKLIN WAS WRONG, IN MY OWN CASE AT LEAST. INDEED, THE MODEL I HAVE ALWAYS TRIED TO FOLLOW IN MY DIPLOMATIC CAREER WAS PRESCRIBED BY ANOTHER DISTINGUISHED PREDECESSOR IN THIS POST, THOMAS JEFFERSON, WHO WROTE, " LET WHAT WILL BE SAID OR DONE, PRESERVE YOUR SANG FROID IMMOVABLY, AND TO EVERY OBSTACLE, OPPOSE PATIENCE, PERSEVERANCE, AND SOOTHING LANGUAGE."

4. AS I OFTEN THE CASE WHEN A MAN OPENS A NEW CHAPTER IN HIS LIFE, I HAVE RECEIVED A GOOD DEAL OF WELL- INTENTIONED ADVICE FROM MY FRIENDS. BUT THE PIECE OF ADVICE I HAVE TAKEN MOST TO HEART COMES, NOT FROM A FRIEND, BUT, FROM THE ENGLISH POET THOMAS HOOD, WHOSE POEM FRENCH AND ENGLISH CONTAINS THIS MEMORABLE STANZA:

" NEVER GO TO FRANCE
UNLESS YOU KNOW THE LINGO,
IF YOU DO, LIKE ME,
YOU WILL REPENT, BY JINGO."

5. I WOULD RATHER NOT REPENT, AND SO MUCH OF MY TIME DURING THE MONTH AND A HALF BEFORE MY DEPARTURE FROM WASHINGTON WAS SPENT IN INTENSIVE STUDY OF THE FRENCH LINGO. AND WHILE I AM NOT QUITE READY FOR A CAREER WITH THE COMEDIE FRANCAISE, I HOPE THAT WITH A LITTLE PRACTICE I SHALL BE ABLE TO COMMUNICATE WITH MY FRENCH FRIENDS AND COLLEAGUES HERE IN THEIR OWN BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE.

6. WHEN A MAN IS ASKED BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO TAKE ON A RESPONSIBILITY AS HEAVY AS THAT OF REPRESENTING HIS COUNTRY IN A MAJOR CAPITAL LIKE PARIS, " IT CONCENTRATES HIS MIND WONDERFULLY" TO BORROW A PHRASE FROM SAMUEL JOHNSON.
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PAGE 03 PARIS 06020 01 OF 02 101323 Z

AND SO, FOR SOME WEEKS, I HAVE BEEN THINKING VERY HARD ABOUT THE MANY RESPONSIBILITIES WHICH BEING THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO FRANCE ENTAILS. IN THE COURSE OF THIS THINKING I KEPT COMING BACK TO A VERY FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION: WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THE UNITED STATES MISSION TO FRANCE? WHY DO WE HAVE AN EMBASSY HERE? THE BEST ANSWER THAT I HAVE BEEN ABLE TO FIND TO THAT QUESTION IS THIS: TO PROMOTE THE INTERESTS OF THE U. S. IN FRANCE.

7. THIS ANSWER INEVITABLY LED ME TO TWO FURTHER QUESTIONS: WHAT ARE UNITED STATES INTERESTS IN FRANCE? AND, HOW CAN THOSE

INTERESTS BEST BE PROMOTED? MOST PEOPLE WOULD PROBABLY AGREE THAT OUR INTERESTS IN FRANCE FALL UNDER THREE MAIN HEADINGS: THE PROTECTION OF THE LIVES, PROPERTY AND INTERESTS OF AMERICAN CITIZENS; POLITICAL AND SECURITY INTERESTS, AND ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL INTERESTS. THE FIRST OF THESE HEADINGS IS OBVIOUS ENOUGH. THERE ARE NEARLY 30,000 AMERICAN CITIZENS LIVING IN FRANCE, AND AMERICAN BUSINESS FIRMS HAVE INVESTED MORE THAN DLS2.5 BILLION HERE. TO HELP PROTECT THESE IMPORTANT INTERESTS, WE HAVE A CONSULAR STAFF UNDER THE CONSUL GENERAL IN PARIS AND FIVE AMERICAN CONSULATES IN THE PROVINCE, AND WE HAVE OFFICERS IN OUR ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL SECTION WHO ARE SPECIALIZED IN THE PROBLEMS OF FOREIGN INVESTMENT.

8. OUR POLITICAL AND SECURITY INTERESTS ARE ALSO QUITE OBVIOUS. A STRONG, PROPEROUS AND INDEPENDENT FRANCE ACTIVELY COOPERATING WITH US IN MAINTAINING THE MUTUAL SECURITY OF THE NATIONS OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE IS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE FOR AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, AND I HOPE TO BE WORKING CLOSELY WITH SENIOR FRENCH OFFICIALS TOWARD THIS GOAL.

9. IT IS WHEN WE TURN TO OUR ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL INTERESTS THAT THE PICTURE BECOMES SOMEWHAT MORE COMPLEX AND IT IS ABOUT THESE INTEREST THAT I SHOULD LIKE TO SPEAK TO YOU THIS EVENING. OUR ECONOMIC INTERESTS IN FRANCE ARE OF TWO MAIN KINDS: TRADE INTERESTS AND MONETARY INTERESTS. IT TAKES ONLY A CURSORY READING OF THE PRESS OVER THE PAST FEW MONTHS TO REALIZE THAT IN BOTH THESE AREAS OUR POSITION CONFLICTS RATHER SHARPLY WITH THE FRENCH POSITION ON A NUMBER OF KEY POINTS.

10. MONETARY PROBLEMS HAVE OBVIOUSLY LOOMED LARGEST IN THE PUBLIC MIND IN RECENT WEEKS. WE ARE CLEARLY MOVING THROUGH A PERIOD OF ACUTE MONETARY INSTABILITY CHARACTERIZED BY LARGE IMBALANCES IN INTERNATIONAL PAYMENTS AND FREQUENT CURRENCY CRISES. BUT I HOPE THAT YOU WILL NOT LET THESE TRANSITORY DEVELOPMENTS OBSCURE THE FACT THAT THE MAJOR AMERICAN INTEREST THIS AREA IS OBTAINING AGREEMENT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE ON A

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 PARIS 06020 01 OF 02 101323 Z

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PAGE 01 PARIS 06020 02 OF 02 101249 Z

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O 101147 Z MAR 73
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8247

UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 2 PARIS 6020

E. O. 11652 N/ A
TAGS: PFOR ENFIN FR
SUBJ: AMBASSADOR IRWINS' S AMERICAN CLUB SPEECH

FOR EUR/ WE

FUNDAMENTAL REFORM OF THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY SYSTEM. THE BRETTON WOODS SYSTEM SERVED THE WORLD WELL FOR 25 YEARS, BUT RADICALLY CHANGING CIRCUMSTANCES, IN PARTICULAR THE EMERGENCE OF NEW ECONOMIC POWER CENTERS RIVALLING THE UNITED STATES IN IMPORTANCE, HAVE CAUSED IT TO BREAK DOWN. WE ARE NOW ENGAGED WITH OUR PARTENERS IN THE IMF IN TRYING TO BUILD A NEW SYSTEM WHICH WILL LAST AT LEAST AS LONG AND SERVE OUR INTERESTS AT LEAST AS WELL AS THE BROTTON WOODS SYSTEM.

11. THE UNITED STATES HAS MADE A NUMBER OF CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSALS WHICH WE BELIEVE WILL MAKE A NEW MONETARY ORDER POSSIBLE. SOME OF THESE PROPOSALS HAVE BROUGHT US INTO DISAGREEMENT WITH THE FRENCH. FOR EXAMPLE, WE BELIEVE THAT COUNTRIES THAT RUN LARGE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS SURPLUSES HAVE AS MUCH RESPONSIBILITY AS DEFICIT COUNTRIES FOR RESTORING EQUILIBRIUM TO THEIR BALANCE OF PAYMENTS. THE FRENCH, WHILE THEY HAVE MOVED SOMEWHAT CLOSER TO OUR POSITION, CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY RESTS WITH THE DEFICIT COUNTRY. LIKE THE FRENCH, WE BELIEVE THAT THE NEW SYSTEM SHOULD BE BASED ON A REGIME OF STABEL EXCHANGE RATES. BUT ALSO WE BELIEVE THAT
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PAGE 02 PARIS 06020 02 OF 02 101249 Z

THESE CENTRAL RATES CANNOT BE DEFENDED AGAINST SPECULATIVE PRESSURES UNLESS THERE IS MUCH GREATER FREEDOM TO CHANGE THESE RATES THAN IN THE BRETTON WOODS SYSTEM EVEN, IN CERTAIN SITUATIONS, THE FREEDOM TO FLOAT. FOR THE FRENCH, ON THE OTHER HAND, THE LESS MOVEMENT OF EXCHANGE RATES, THE BETTER. FINALLY, WE BELIEVE SOME MORE SATISFACTORY ASSET THAN GOLD, WHICH IS SUBJECT TO UNCERTAINTIES OF PRODUCTION AND TO SPECULATIVE BUYING, SHOULD BECOME THE CENTRAL POINT OF REFERENCE OF THE MONETARY SYSTEM OF THE FUTURE. WE BELIEVE, IN OTHER WORDS, THAT THE IMPORTANCE OF GOLD IN THE SYSTEM SHOULD GRADUALLY DIMINISH AND THAT THE SPECIAL DRAWING RIGHT SHOULD BECOME THE CENTRAL POINT OF REFERENCE. FRANCE, ON THE OTHER HAND, BELIEVES THAT GOLD SHOULD CONTINUE TO PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE SYSTEM.

12. UNITED STATES INTERESTS IN THE TRADE FIELD ARE CLOSELY LINKED TO THE PREPARATIONS WHICH ARE NOW IN PROCESS FOR A MAJOR NEW

ROUND OF MULTILATERAL TRADE NEGOTIATIONS SCHEDULED TO BEGIN LATER THIS YEAR. WHAT THE UNITED STATES WANTS FROM THESE NEGOTIATIONS IS A SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTION OF EXISTING BARRIERS, BOTH TARIFFS AND NON- TARIFF BARRIERS, TO WORLD TRADE IN BOTH INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS. WE ARE PARTICULARLY INSISTENT THAT AGRICULTURE, WHICH WAS FOR ALL PRACTICAL PURPOSES EXCLUDED FROM THE KENNEDY ROUND NEGOTIATIONS, BE INCLUDED IN THE NEXT ROUND. THE UNITED STATES IS ONE OF THE MOST EFFICIENT PRODUCERS OF AGRICULTURAL COMMODITIES IN THE WORLD, AND WE BELIEVE THAT THE BARRIERS TO AGRICULTURAL TRADE WHICH HAVE BEEN ERECTED BY THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY ARE MAKING IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR US TO REALIZE THE FULL BENEFITS OF OUR COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGE IN THIS FIELD. I HASTEN TO ADD THAT WE ARE NOT TRYING TO DESTROY THE COMMON AGRICULTURAL POLICY OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AS SOME EUROPEANS SEEM TO THINK. BUT WE BELIEVE THAT THIS POLICY CAN BE OPERATED IN WAYS THAT MAKE IT LESS HARMFUL TO THE INTERESTS OF OTHER COUNTRIES. IT IS PRINCIPALLY OVER THE QUESTION OF LIBERALIZING TRADE IN AGRICULTURE THAT WE HAVE THE GREATEST DIFFERENCE WITH FRANCE. FRANCE IS THE PRINCIPAL BENEFICIARY OF THE COMMON AGRICULTURAL POLICY OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, AND IT BELIEVES THAT ITS OWN INTERESTS ARE THREATENED BY OUR EMPHASIS ON LIBERALIZATION OF AGRICULTURAL TRADE.

13. WHAT ALL THIS MEANS IS THAT THE PROMOTION OF U. S. ECONOMIC INTERESTS IN FRANCE OVER THE NEXT YEAR OR TWO WILL CALL FOR A VERY CONSIDERABLE EFFORT TO BRIDGE THE GAP BETWEEN OUR RESPECTIVE POSITIONS ON MONETARY AND TRADE QUESTIONS. WE MUST SEEK TO RESTORE THE LARGE IDENTITY OF VIEWS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 PARIS 06020 02 OF 02 101249 Z

WHICH WAS A MAJOR FACTOR IN THE BRILLIANT RECORD OF INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION IN THE FIRST TWO DECADES FOLLOWING WORLD WAR II. THIS EFFORT WILL REQUIRE THE FULL USE OF ALL THE EMBASSY'S RESOURCES. WE MUST SUPPORT AND ANALYZE FRENCH POLICIES ON TRADE AND MONETARY QUESTIONS AND WE MUST EXPLAIN AND SEEK SUPPORT FOR U. S. POLICIES FROM THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC. IN OTHER WORDS, WE MUST MAINTAIN A SUSTAINED DIALOGUE WITH THE FRENCH NATION. WHILE THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN US SOMETIMES SEEM GREAT, I AM PERSONALLY OPTIMISTIC THAT THEY WILL BE OVERCOME IN THE END, FOR I BELIEVE THAT THE THINGS THAT UNITE US - A COMMON POLITICAL HERITAGE AND CULTURAL TRADITION, A COMMON CONCERN FOR THE SECURITY OF THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY, AND AN ALMOST EXTRICABLE INTER- INDEPENDENCE OF ECONOMIC INTERESTS - ARE INFINITELY MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE THINGS THAT DIVIDE US.

14. I HAVE LEFT TO THE LAST WHAT IN MANY WAYS IS THE MOST IMPORTANT UNITED STATES ECONOMIC INTEREST IN FRANCE, THE PROMOTION OF U. S. EXPORTS OF GOODS AND SERVICES. EXPORT PROMOTION IS AN ACTIVITY TO WHICH THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT HAS ASSIGNED THE VERY HIGHEST PRIORITY. THE TASK IS A PARTICULARLY CHALLENGING ONE HERE IN FRANCE, THE FIFTH LARGEST MARKET FOR AMERICAN GOODS, BECAUSE, WHILE OUR EXPORTS TO

FRANCE HAVE BEEN RISING YEAR AFTER YEAR IN ABSOLUTE TERMS, OUR SHARE OF THE FRENCH MARKET HAS BEN SLOWLY DECLINING. CONSEQUENTLY, I EXPECT TO DEVOTE A LARGE PART OF MY TIME AND ENERGY TO EXPORT PROMOTION. I VIEW THE AMERICAN BUSINESS COMMUNITY AS A DIRECT PARTNER IN THE JOB OF SELLING AMERICAN GOODS IN FRANCE, AND I WANT TO ASSURE YOU THAT IT WILL CONTINUE TO HAVE THE FULL SUPPORT OF THIS EMBASSY. FOR EXAMPLE, I INTEND TO MAINTAIN THE TRADITION OF REGULAR INFORMAL MEETINGS WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY, AT WHICH MY STAFF AND I SHALL TRY TO KEEP YOU POSTED ON CURRENT U. S. POLICIES AND TO SEEK YOUR ADVICE ON CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS IN FRANCE AND EUROPE. IN ADDITION TO THESE PERIODIC MEETINGS, I INTEND TO CONTINUE MY PREDECESSOR'S OPEN-DOOR POLICY TOWARD THE AMERICAN COMMUNITY. SO THAT YOU CAN FEEL FREE TO CALL ON MY STAFF AT ANY TIME TO DISCUSS PARTICULAR PROBLEMS. IN A SENSE, ALL OF YOU ARE AMBASSADORS, FOR ALL OF YOU ARE CALLED ON FROM TIME TO TIME BY YOUR FRENCH FRIENDS TO EXPLAIN OR INTERPRET AMERICAN POLCIES WHICH THEY FIND PUZZLING OR EVEN UNFRIENDLY. I HOPE THAT THRE FRANK OPEN EXCHANGES WITH THE EMBASSY WILL

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 PARIS 06020 02 OF 02 101249 Z

HELP YOU CARRY OUT YOUR AMBASSADORIAL ROLE.

15. AND, NOW IT REMAINS ONLY FOR ME TO THANK YOU FOR YOUR GOOD WISHES AS I EMBARK ON THIS DIFFICULT AND CHALLENGING NEW ASSIGNMENT. IT IS REASSURING TO KNOW THAT YOUR COLLECTIVE WISDOM AND EXPERIENCE WILL BE AVAILABLE TO ME, AND I EXPECT TO CALL ON YOU OFTEN FOR COUNSEL AND GUIDANCE.

KUBISCH

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